

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 DHA-02 SAJ-01  
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AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 2689

USIA FOR IOP, IBS, IPS, IEU

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, SOPN, UR, US, SHUM  
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS: EVIDENCE OF SOVIET RELUCTANCE TO CRITICIZE  
CARTER ADMINISTRATION

REF: MOSCOW 2656

1. DEPARTMENT MAY HAVE ALREADY SEEN TASS ENGLISH (WTXW TASS  
6-6V) AND AP (V173D M910 44) WIRE STORIES ABOUT KRASNAYA  
AVESDA ARTICLE BY YURIY KORNILOV ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE. AP  
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PLAYS STORY AS KORNILOV EXPRESSING ALARM AT HIGH GOVERNMENT  
OFFICIALS IN WEST WHO GIVE SUPPORT TO SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS  
MOVEMENT AND GOES ON TO MENTION PRESIDENT CARTER AND VICE  
PRESIDENT MONDALE IN CONTEXT OF PLANS TO MEET SOVIET  
DISSIDENT VLADIMIR BUKOVSKIY. TASS GIVES SUMMARY OF  
ARTICLE DRAWING HEAVILY ON KORNILOV'S LANGUAGE.

2. KORNILOV ARTICLE IS ONE OF TWO ON THIS SUBJECT APPEARING IN PRESS FEB 24-25 WHICH REFER TO HIGH LEVEL SUPPORT FOR "CAMPAIGN" IN WEST ON HUMAN RIGHTS. SECOND ARTICLE IS BY V. KOBYSH IN IZVESTIYA. NEITHER DIRECTLY CRITICIZES SPECIFIC WESTERN OFFICIALS; BOTH GET AROUND HAVING TO MENTION NAMES BY VERBAL FOOTWORK. SUCH MANUEVERS HAVE BEEN STANDARD PART OF SOVIET REACTION TO HUMAN RIGHTS STATEMENTS AND POSITIONS OF WESTERN LEADERS SINCE THEY BEGAN COMMENTING SEVERAL WEEKS AGO. THESE LATEST ARTICLES, NEITHER OF WHICH APPEAR IN THE MORE AUTHORITY PRAVDA, COME ABOUT AS CLOSE AS POSSIBLE TO INDICATING WHO IT IS THEY MEAN WITHOUT ACTUALLY NAMING NAMES.

3. FOR USE OF WASHINGTON AGENCIES WE QUOTE RELEVANT SENTENCES IN FULL FROM BOTH ARTICLES:

A) KORNILOV IN KZ: "...FOR SOME TIME IN A NUMBER OF WESTERN STATES AND FIRST OF ALL IN THE U.S., THERE HAS BEEN INCREASING INVOLVEMENT OF OFFICIAL -- AND AT TIMES EXTREMELY HIGHLY PLACED ORGANS AND PERSONS -- IN THE UNSEEMLY CAMPAIGN UNLEASHED BY ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA CENTERS AND HAVING THE GOAL OF HEATING UP THE ATMOSPHERE. THIS IS ACCOMPLISHED IN VARIOUS WAYS AND FOR VARIOUS MOTIVES. SUDDENLY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE SHOWS A SUSPICIOUSLY TOUCHING CONCERN ABOUT 'DISSIDENTS' IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. OR, A NEW OFFICIAL DECLARATION APPEARS -- ALSO IN WASHINGTON -- HAVING THE ALLEGED PURPOSE OF 'PROTECTING HUMAN RIGHTS' IN THE USSR, EVEN THOUGH THE SOVIET PEOPLE HAVE NO NEED FOR SUCH 'PROTECTION.'  
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B) KOBYSH IN IZVESTIYA (USING FAMILIAR SOVIET TECHNIQUE OF REPLAYING U.S. CRITICISM OF USG POLICY): "IN THESE DISCUSSIONS (IN U.S. PRESS) ONE HEARS CLEAR EXPRESSIONS OF ASTONISHMENT, ALARM, AND EVEN OPEN IRRITATION OVER THE FACT THAT THE PROVOCATORY CAMPAIGN IN 'DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS' DOES NOT RECEIVE A SUFFICIENTLY DECISIVE REBUFF IN THE HIGHEST ECHELONS OF POWER, AND EVEN ELICITS THERE A FAVORABLE RESPONSE."

4. COMMENT: SOVIET PRESS APPARENTLY IS UNDER INSTRUCTION NOT TO CRITICIZE PRESIDENT CARTER OF "CARTER ADMINISTRATION" BY NAME. ALTHOUGH OVER PAST FEW WEEKS ALLUSIONS HAVE BECOME LESS AND LESS INDIRECT, PRESS IS STILL RESTRAINED IN REFERENCES TO USG. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN BRITISH POLCOUNS AND MFA USA DIVISION COUNSELOR SOKOLOV FEB 25 SOKOLOV MADE POINT THAT SOVIETS WOULD LIKE TO SEE PUBLIC FUROR DIE DOWN AND "QUIET DIPLOMACY" RETURN. HE WENT ON TO SUGGEST THAT, ALTHOUGH SOVIETS DID NOT WISH TO LINK

HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE WITH MAJOR AGENDA ITEMS, SENSATIONAL MEDIA ATTENTION IN U.S. MIGHT HINDER USG ABILITY TO PROCEED IN ARMS CONTROL AREA, SALT IN PARTICULAR. SOKOLOV SEEMED TO IMPLY THAT SOVIET SIDE IS NOT ANXIOUS TO CONTINUE ABRASIVE MEDIA CAMPAIGN.

5. HENCE, WE BELIEVE SOVIET PRESS WILL CONTINUE ITS CAMPAIGN, BUT ONLY RELUCTANTLY AND CAREFULLY WILL IT MOVE TO SOME FORM OF DIRECT CRITICISM OF NEW ADMINISTRATION, OR EVEN PRESIDENT. THIS WILL PROBABLY COME ONLY AS RESULT OF A MAJOR DEVELOPMENT TO WHICH SOVIETS FEEL THEY MUST RESPOND WITH DIRECT CRITICISM. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH BUKOVSKIY IS PERCEIVED BY SOVIETS AS SUCH A MAJOR DEVELOPMENT.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Review Markings:**  
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